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ABSTRACT

This report surveys developments in the field of black studies in conjunction with a preliminary evaluation of the Danforth Foundation (DF) program of Postgraduate Black Studies Fellowships. Stages of development in black studies are reviewed: power struggles, local and national, black and white 1968-69; a year of truce, 1970-71; and Black Studies 1972. Early evaluations concern the timing of the DF program impact on black studies, the success or failure of the establishment of a Postgraduate Fellowship in Black Studies, and the implications for future programs and grants for the foundation. Appendices of student impressions of the program and information concerning numbers of students are included. (MJM)

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BLACK STUDIES IN RETROSPECT

A Report on the Danforth Foundation's Program of Postgraduate Black Studies Fellowships

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BLACK STUDIES IN RETROSPECT

Black Studies was a phenomenon at the time of its initial sweep through American colleges and universities in 1968-69. A by-product of the civil rights movement and of new pride in blackness, the concept of Black Studies galvanized curriculum committees into action and demolished traditional academic hurdles with the force of a hurricane. Student pressure was intense, so much so that a guilt-ridden Harvard committee solemnly pronounced in January of 1969: "It is not appropriate, at this time, to speculate on the form, content, even the size of the proposed undergraduate program in Afro-American Studies."

A college generation has come and gone since the birth of Black Studies, and the frenzy of the early days has abated. Black Studies remains a phenomenon, but for different reasons; Black Studies: Phase II (or III or IV, depending upon one's taste for periodic divisions) is upon us. June, 1972, marked the termination of the Danforth Foundation's three-year program of Postgraduate Fellowships in Black Studies, and this report is undertaken with the hope that it may be useful to attempt a survey of developments in the field of Black Studies in conjunction with a preliminary evaluation of the Danforth fellowship program. Clearly, the long-range impact of the Danforth program will not be known for another college generation or even two or three.

I

THE DANFORTH FOUNDATION'S POSTGRADUATE FELLOWSHIPS IN BLACK STUDIES

Early Decisions

The Danforth Foundation, surveying the academic scene in 1968-69, asked itself what contribution it could make to the development of Black Studies. It was not feasible to respond in an equitable way to the many requests for help on an institution-by-institution basis, and there were too many open-ended questions about Black Studies to make it possible to identify a few "model" programs and give them support. One fact was clear: as of the winter of 1968-69, all-too-many institutions of higher learning had promised their students much more in the way of Black Studies programs than they could deliver. Eagerness to meet student demands outran the capacity of faculty capable of "professing" the field; something would have to give.

Acting with more than "deliberate speed," the Foundation determined to meet the situation by offering a postgraduate fellowship program through which institutions could develop their own professors of Black Studies.[1] Unlike fellowship competitions which identify individuals for their own sake, this fellowship program proposed to offer support to an institution through an award to a member of its faculty. Colleges and universities[2] would be invited to nominate a faculty member with expertise in a field related to Black Studies (American history, American literature, urban studies, etc.) for an award which would permit him to spend a year in a university center of "Black Studies." After the year, in principle, he would return to his home institution with enhanced potential for influencing the curriculum in the new field.

The initial announcement of "Postgraduate Fellowships for Black Studies" read:

> In any survey of the problems facing institutions of higher learning in the United States today, "Black Studies" most often heads the list of those related to curriculum. Institutions which for generations of students have ignored Negro history, Negro literature, and the Negro in general are under great pressure to develop, overnight, extensive programs in "Black Studies."
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> There is no accepted definition of "Black Studies." For some, any topic related to the Negro is included in "Black Studies." For others, "Black Studies" must pass the test of being geared to urban U.S. in the 1960's. For a few, the test is structural: "Black Studies" are courses taught in a specific departmental framework.
>
> Both because it seems certain that "Black Studies" will be taught before it is defined and because there is a woeful shortage of persons prepared to focus on the experience of blacks, the Danforth Foundation will offer a new program in 1969-70 designed to give experienced teachers additional background and enrichment in "Black Studies."
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> The Foundation plans to appoint 10 Fellows in its "Black Studies" program in 1969-70. Each Fellow will spend the year in pursuit of

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[1] Initial action was taken by the Executive Committee on March 10, 1969; subsequent action by the Board of Trustees was taken on April 27-28, 1969.

[2] Institutions with undergraduate enrollments over 10,000 were not invited to participate in the program. The logic behind this decision was that if and when institutions with large undergraduate enrollments decided to launch Black Studies departments/programs, the commitments of personnel and money which would be needed were of such dimensions that a single faculty fellowship would not be of major significance. Then, too, the Foundation had observed that large, wealthy institutions usually used the advantage of the purse in raiding small ones of their trained personnel. From the beginning, continual movement of personnel kept the field in a state of modified turmoil.

an individually designed plan of study at an agreed upon graduate center for "Black Studies."

The letter soliciting nominations to the competition explained the Foundation's goal and philosophy further:

> The Danforth "Black Studies" program . . . will make it possible for faculty to prepare to teach "Black Studies" with time for personal reflection, not as conveyor belts for the ideas and syllabi of others. It is the Foundation's hope that the common interests of the Fellows will result in formal and informal exchange of ideas, definitions, and designs for undergraduate work in "Black Studies." It is our conviction that just as it is equally important for blacks and whites in the United States to understand the black experience, it is vital that the field be open to scholars of any race, creed, sex.
>
> We hope that this program will contribute to a stabilization of personnel in the field of "Black Studies" by serving to counteract the "brain drain" of talent to a few centers. The Foundation assumes that Fellows will return to their home institutions, though there will be no formal contract to this effect.

The First Class of Fellows

In a whirlwind six-week competition in April and May, 1969, ten Fellows were appointed for the first year of study.[3] The Foundation had anticipated that Fellows would find it more productive if they formed "clusters" in one or two centers--initially the University of Chicago or Yale University--and the staff made tentative arrangements with both institutions to provide a home for DF's nominees.[4]

The two institutions offered sharp contrasts. Yale was in the process of launching a distinctive and coherent program of Afro-American Studies which gave promise of superior intellectual quality. The Yale plan was the product of a year-long collaboration of black undergraduates and white faculty; a black director and staff were to join in the fall of 1969 and implement the program. The University of Chicago, following the leadership of its distinguished historian, John Hope Franklin, did not propose to offer a program of Black Studies, but did provide a wide range of courses (there were over 200 at the graduate and undergraduate levels) dealing with the black experience. Franklin, an articulate advocate of such eclecticism as the proper approach to Black Studies, promised a seminar on Black Studies for DF Fellows.

Not surprisingly, perhaps, nine of the first ten Fellows opted for the Yale program, the tenth chose Chicago. But if there was no surprise in the distribution, there was a surprise in the first year's competition and an

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[3]See Appendix B. These awards were made by DF staff.

[4]Fellowship applicants were free to propose their own alternative base but not until the second year of the competition did a candidate do so.

unwelcome one, namely, the small number of blacks nominated for the fellowship. Of the first ten fellowships, nine awards went to white faculty, only one to a black. Not Yale, not the Danforth Foundation, not the prospective Fellows themselves had anticipated such a skewed distribution, and it made for a tension-packed year in Yale's Afro-American program.

Shortage of Black Candidates

The role of blacks and whites in Black Studies is so central that it is worth interrupting the narrative with some comments on it. Although the proportion of black candidates and Fellows increased in the second year and again in the third year of the program, the number of blacks nominated and appointed was always disappointingly low. In retrospect, one can identify several factors which contributed to this situation:

1. Many white institutions had so few black faculty that keeping them visible was a major concern; their deans were not eager to send black faculty away for a year and risk their not returning.

2. Predominantly black institutions were very slow to organize Black Studies. In the three year period of DF competitions, only 15 nominations (not all of them eligible) came from black institutions.

3. The DF Fellowship stipend of $7500 was small compared to the salaries being offered blacks, many of whom were not at all qualified to teach Black Studies.

4. The academic background of some black nominees for the fellowship was so limited that the staff encouraged them to apply for "regular" DF graduate fellowships. They were clearly not prepared to make good use of postgraduate, unstructured study, even though it might have improved their status on their home campuses.

5. Some early appointees to Black Studies programs were unwilling to risk study away from their home base for a year, largely because they were uncertain of returning to their institution in status quo ante. Such a fear was not necessarily paranoia, for one DF Black Studies Fellow was kept from returning to his institution by a black brother who became director of the program in the Fellow's absence. (The Black Studies personnel at the University of California, Berkeley, argued that this was so fundamental a consideration that DF should have supported Fellows in their home institutions instead of clustering Fellows at a few centers.)

If, as, and when the field of Black Studies does stabilize, one important piece of research will be an analysis of why some blacks were attracted to research and teaching in Black Studies in these years while others opted out. It is a reasonable hypothesis that personality factors, the kind of personal commitment the individual chose to make to the struggle for black liberation, the alternative uses open to individual talents in and out of that struggle, and the alternative academic careers which were open--all played a part.

Very early in the emergence of Black Studies, an action-oriented type came to dominate it--or dominate the public image of it--and to crowd out--or try to crowd out--other types. Action-oriented blacks viewed the field of Black

Studies as part of a political power struggle through which blacks could develop a base for national power in the university world and also in the larger society. Not all black scholars, in or out of Black Studies, were sympathetic to such an approach, and some of them ridiculed from the beginning the notion that white students and scholars could be denied a place in Black Studies. Their voices, however, did not make the headlines, and their influence was compromised by the fact that blacks as well as whites were divided by a larger movement which paralleled Black Studies in the social sciences, a movement to decry the possibility of "objectivity" and to stipulate action-oriented research as the only significant research.

The Second Competition

The Danforth program specified a larger group of Fellows--twenty-five--for the second and third years of the competition. Thanks to the lateness of the 1969-70 competition, it was necessary to prepare invitations to nominate candidates for the 1970-71 award even as the first group of Fellows settled into their first months of study at Yale and Chicago.

Although the number of nominations for the first competition had proved disappointingly small, a noteworthy number of college and university presidents took the trouble to write in appreciation of the Foundation's invitation and to indicate they would certainly nominate a faculty member if given a second chance. The staff, therefore, prepared for a flood of nominations for the second round. Because the total group of Fellows would be larger, because additional centers for Black Studies of promising quality were emerging, and because there was a tentative consensus that the 1969-70 Yale group of nine postgraduates was too large to be absorbed by that program, arrangements for "clusters" of Fellows were made with Howard University, Morgan State College, and Stanford University in addition to the University of Chicago and Yale University. To these five institutions, a new graduate program in Afro-American Studies at Atlanta University was added for Fellows of the class of 1971-72.

The total number of nominations in the second and third years never met expectations, however. The presidents who so enthusiastically promised nominations if given another opportunity, rarely did so. In fact, the quota of Fellows was not filled, in either the second or third year of the program. The specified number of awards was made, but duplication of awards by DF and the National Endowment for the Humanities in 1970-71 and 1971-72 resulted in declinations which outran the selections of the Advisory Council.[5]

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[5]The year following DF's launching of its program, the National Endowment for the Humanities adopted the Danforth Foundation's idea for a faculty fellowship in Black Studies almost in toto. Their fellowship program in Black Studies imitated the Danforth Foundation's in most respects and they were able to profit from DF's early experiences. For a time, the NEH gave serious consideration to making the DF its agent for the new program. In the end, however, there were these significant differences between the programs: 1) rather than appoint Fellows directly, NEH assigned a quota of fellowships to four or five university centers which made their own awards; 2) an age limit of 30 was stipulated; and 3) there was no effort to link the NEH fellowships to teaching so that NEH Fellows as a group had strong research interests and relatively low interests in problems of curriculum and teaching.

The White/Black Issue

If a shortage of good black candidates was a problem in making awards, other problems were to arise after the Fellows were in study. All the uncertainties of the field of Black Studies had echoes in the Danforth Fellowship program, and it is not without interest to note how what came to be the most divisive issue in Black Studies, namely, *Is there a role for whites as well as blacks as students/teachers/researchers in the field?* also affected the Fellowship program.

In announcing the program the Foundation made clear an intent to have black and white participants. Within a year, the "relevance" of this decision if not the Foundation's good intentions came into question. The members of the Advisory Council[6] to the program shared an unwavering belief that Black Studies had "relevance" for whites as well as blacks, and that dialogue between the races--as students, as teachers, and as researchers--was sine qua non. The belief was expressed in the Council decisions on candidates, though the group agreed to frank preference for black contenders. The acid test of their (and the Foundation's) convictions came in the spring of 1970, in the course of the first conference of Fellows, a weekend conference for the ten Fellows in study and for the 25 appointed for the following fall.

Held in Greenwich, Connecticut, in April, 1970, the first conference of Fellows was surely one of the most remarkable meetings ever held under DF auspices. Yale's May Day "moment of truth" was less than a week away, and the Yale contingent at the Conference (nine Fellows plus half a dozen invited guests), brought to the gathering a feeling of approaching Götterdämmerung. It became clear that the eight white Fellows at Yale had slowly but inexorably become the victims of reverse racism in the course of their months in Yale's Afro-American Studies program. As a result, they despaired of black/white relations everywhere. They were convinced that the field of Black Studies was itself racist, whether this was the inevitable result of white racism or the response to it. They made the same points repeatedly, for they were also convinced that increasingly open hostility between the races was the wave of the future, and that Yale itself was likely to go down in the days ahead. Their twofold message was thinly veiled: 1) the Danforth Foundation had betrayed them by appointing them to the Postgraduate Black Studies Fellowship program, and 2) whites who held appointments as Fellows for 1970-71 would do well to withdraw before they learned, "the hard way," that whites did not belong in Black Studies.

For twenty-four hours, the conference was a mirror image of what was happening in the wider world. It was also a pressure cooker. Language new to Danforth gatherings marked both the formal speeches and the informal diatribes; blacks virtually spat upon blacks, whites upon whites. It is fair to say no one who was present will ever forget the tension which built up over the first day and a half or the calm in the eye of the hurricane which followed on the final

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[6]The members were Herman R. Branson, President, Lincoln University (Pennsylvania); Nathan I. Huggins, Professor of History, Columbia University; Stanley N. Katz, then Professor of History, University of Wisconsin, now Professor of Legal History, University of Chicago; John T. King, President, Huston-Tillotson College; Paul L. Ward, Executive Secretary, American Historical Association.

morning. As personal and group positions on Black Studies crystallized, one sharp comment after another was addressed by Fellows to the Advisory Council and especially to the Foundation. It became the responsibility of the Foundation's representative firmly to restate why the Danforth Foundation was "in it" and why it would continue to insist on keeping the fellowship program open to whites as well as blacks. The Danforth staff member attests that she never spoke under greater pressure. The result justified the weekend of strain, for by the time for departure, it was clear that the Yale group of eight white Fellows had failed in their target of getting the new white Fellows to resign. Far from having exerted influence on the prospective Fellows, the Yale whites became the subject of pity (or worse) among the assorted blacks and whites, the new Fellows, and the Advisory Council. Gradually, as the Yale "whites" saw themselves reflected in the eyes of the larger group, a totally different way of looking at their own experience occurred to them. They realized that they had responded to the intimidation of Yale's black students not by understanding it, absorbing it in reasonable measure, and then giving it a wide berth, but by virtual paralysis. It may seem wild exaggeration to maintain that the weekend experience redeemed or justified the year for these eight Fellows, but the subsequent letters from several members of the group support such a claim. Existential "moments of truth" were commonplace that weekend.

The Second Year

The second conference of Fellows--held in May, 1971, at Illinois Beach Lodge--was as intellectually stimulating as the first meeting was emotionally draining. It brought together Fellows-in-Study, Fellows who would be in study the following autumn, a few alumni from 1969-70, and the Advisory Council. All of the divisive issues of Black Studies were again on the agenda (as they must be except in a group of True Believers of one or another persuasion) but the acceptance of pluralism which had evolved in Black Studies generally, also prevailed in the Danforth group. Militant blacks who were present expressed the belief that working with Whitey, the would-be-friendly academic, was preferable to fighting him. There were jousting and (serious) banter, but it seemed reasonable to conclude that the peak of racism in Black Studies in and out of the Fellowship, had passed.

Did all this result in agreement on Black Studies? Working from a set of documents prepared by the incumbent Fellows and representing model Black Studies programs for their institutions, the conference group ultimately agreed to disagree on the substance and method appropriate to Black Studies. There were experimentalists present but also traditionalists, and blacks as well as whites were in both groups. The Foundation could honestly claim that it supported heterogeneity in Black Studies.

The Role of the Advisory Council

The Fellows and the Advisory Council in this program had an unusual influence upon one another, thanks to the two conferences, the general age and maturity of the Fellows, and the inescapable black/white issues which touch everyone regardless of age or station. At the second conference, at any rate, some members of the Advisory Council were rewarded with declarations of truce and even apologies for conduct a year earlier! Younger blacks made peace with older blacks, whites did the same.

The University Mentors

An even stronger influence on DF Fellows was that of the university professors who accepted the responsibility of advising them in their respective institutions. A word of special praise is due four of the directors of DF programs, for their personal interest in helping Fellows make optimal use of the year was as important as it was selflessly offered. John Hope Franklin (University of Chicago) and St. Clair Drake (Stanford) would be among the top five on anyone's list of scholars in Black Studies and its related disciplines. Richard Long (Atlanta) and John Blassingame (Yale) are younger men who are clearly "comers." All four brought to their Danforth commitment the shared conviction that Black Studies would suffocate if made the exclusive territory of blacks. In seminars and in personal relationships, they reflected the highest scholarly standards; their lively participation in the non-stop discussions related to Black Studies was a major ingredient in the successful "mix." They kept the faith that the field was a serious one, not a political flash-in-the-pan, and they discussed racism with such candor that the conversation liberated whites as well as blacks. As one white Fellow reported, he is once again at ease in teaching black students, not a victim of guilt because of his whiteness.

II

BLACK STUDIES: STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT

To understand the Danforth Foundation's experience (the disappointingly small number of promising nominees for the Black Studies Fellowships, the conflicts over ideology and methodology, etc.) one needs to understand what was happening to the field itself.

Power Struggles: Local and National, Black and White

If 1968-69 was the Year of Many Promises for Black Studies, as it surely was, the year which followed was the Year of Confrontation and Confusion. It was a tumultuous year, with scores of dramatic confrontations across the country over a series of questions related to who would define and develop the field and whose "turf" it would be. In city after city (Northern and Western, for the most part, rather than Southern), Black Studies issues came to be hopelessly tangled with issues of housing, jobs, and community action for blacks. Few institutions were prepared to cope with the instant politicization of any field, particularly one with local impact. The role, of any, which whites were to play as teachers, researchers, and students, raised issues in Black Studies which became sufficiently acute as to close institutions and bring to a halt national and even international conferences of scholars. Bitter whites charged "reverse racism" as blacks kept them out of some key Black Studies programs; bitter blacks charged bad faith as they perceived the autonomy which they were initially promised was compromised by white budget-makers and contract-signers. Headlines from Ithaca and from San Francisco reflected the fact that Black Studies could break institutional peace and even dislodge administrations.

In the process of continuous debate, both local and national, any progress in 1969-70 toward defining the field and adding to knowledge of the black experience was minimal. Meanwhile, new contenders were appearing for institutional support, as Chicano Studies (later also American Indian Studies, Asian-American-Studies, and Women's Studies) cut into budgets assigned Black Studies, especially at institutions on the West Coast. A few administrators probably welcomed the competition and must have recognized a silver lining in the clouds of budget shortages. At any rate, the initial dream of Black Studies as a field of inquiry which would simultaneously develop black pride and contribute to the reconciliation of blacks and whites, melted in the hot sun of unending controversy.

A Year of Truce: 1970-71

As universities opened for a new academic year in the fall of 1970-71 and as the second class of Danforth Fellows went to work, an uneasy peace slowly became discernible over the field. Student pressure--the major force in launching programs everywhere--began to ease significantly, even though it remained an uncertain quantity. Administrators in both black and white institutions began to find that they could negotiate Black Studies issues without the threat of immediate reprisal. Since the field was by now synonymous with strife (whether the issues were budget, personnel, governance, or a combination thereof), administrators began to avoid decisions where feasible and to postpone the implementation of blueprints. Although national meetings on Black Studies and its related fields continued to generate bitter black/white and still more bitter black/black disputes, common-sense-pragmatism brought even the most militant blacks to the (unexpressed but easily inferred) conviction that pluralism in Black Studies was inevitable, at least for a time.

With uniformity a remote if not an impossible dream, the alternative was to concentrate on a local situation and worry later about the national scene. Black Studies could mean interdisciplinary research geared to community action (this was Nathan Hare's dream, briefly launched at San Francisco State, e.g.), while at another institution (Federal City College) the same concept led to total separation of the program from the institution and the establishment of an independent community institute. At still a third university (Richard Long's program at Atlanta University), Black Studies meant careful, orthodox, "pure" research into previously neglected subject matter related to the black experience, all on a discipline-by-discipline basis.

An annual conference--the Conference on Afro-American Studies--at Atlanta University is useful as a barometer of each year's pressure points. In the early years of the Conference, supporters of different points of view did not hesitate to show their distaste for one another. But by the winter of 1970-71 a state of truce obtained at the CAAS meetings. Why such a relaxation? First, there was consensus that if students and researchers were ever to accomplish anything, they would need time for research rather than controversy; second, there was concern that financial support would dry up unless some results were forthcoming. Finally, conflicting points of view on Black Studies could be aired in journals and books rather than in newspaper headlines. Each year following 1969 saw the establishment of at least one new journal; and, as of 1972, there are almost a score of journals devoted to issues related to black experience and Black Studies.

Black Studies in 1972

In mid-1972, then, is the field of Black Studies alive? viable? stabilized?

It is safe to say it is alive and probably safe to say it is viable, but it would be an overstatement to describe it as stable or stabilized. A recent report in the New York Times estimated that more than 600 college and universities offer black-oriented courses and that they have given impetus to "a mass black introspection unparalleled in recorded history."

For many reasons, Black Studies--albeit still a phenomenon--may appear a phenomenon of a lesser order in 1972 than it promised in 1969. It is true, for example, that in very few institutions have student enrollments--black or white--met predictions and expectations. This fact together with increasingly stringent budget situations has justified reductions in commitments in many universities. Then, too, the very appearance of such fields such as Chicano, American Indian, and Women's Studies has led critics to claim that Black Studies was the first of a series of fads, none of them with serious staying power.

It is true, too, that it is as difficult to generalize about Black Studies in 1972 as it was in 1969. For some, Black Studies is synonymous with experimental education; for others it is traditional. For some, it must be an interdisciplinary venture; for others, it follows natural departmental lines. For some, it is basically an intellectual pursuit; for others, it approaches the anti-intellectual. In some institutions it exists to provide the equivalent of a home room for black students; in others, 75% to 100% of the students are white. There are institutions where the academic reputation of Black Studies is very low--where the courses in Black Studies are flabby and pretentious and where serious students, black as well as white, assiduously avoid the field. In such institutions, white faculty knowingly allow a ghetto to exist and black faculty who teach in "respectable" departments either ignore the Black Studies program or work against it for change.

Yet there are also institutions where the reputation of Black Studies is good, where students find significance in being exposed to whiteness and blackness in the context of Black Studies courses, and where black and white students as well as faculty teach one another. In such institutions, the intellectual level of Black Studies is likely to match that of the rest of the institution, except that fresh contributions to knowledge are more likely to come from Black Studies than from any other undergraduate field. Since many white institutions are finding that de facto segregation is the new way of life on their campuses, Black Studies has the merit of precipitating discourse between blacks and whites, however marked it may be by disharmonies.

Black Studies continues to suffer--as does the nation--from the fact that the integrationist/segregationist question divides blacks as well as whites. We are told that some black scholars still downgrade Black Studies with secret names like "Advanced Cornbread 202," and the basic mistrust even of John Hope Franklin was reflected in a comment as late as May, 1972, when he stated that he saw his most important contribution doing what he could "to prevent the program from adding to racism." But does anyone expect the integrationist/segregationist question to be answered once-and-for-all in his lifetime? The inevitable result of the ambivalence is that no institutional program in Black Studies is without its local critics, whether for "irrelevance" or for "Tom-ism," for over- or for under-politicization.

There is still a great difference between Black Studies in a northern, predominantly white institution and Black Studies in a southern black institution. But it seems fair to say that more blacks appreciate the usefulness of Black Studies for dialogue than was true in 1969--dialogue between nationalist-militants and integrationist-evolutionaries, and dialogue between blacks and whites. Undeviating party-line departments are less visible than they were four years ago, with even the most militant blacks conceding that whites should know more than they do about the life and experience of blacks. It is significant that two consortia in the South--the Alabama Center for Higher Education and the Association for Graduate Education and Research of North Texas--are operating successful Black Studies programs for the benefit of their white as well as their black institutional members. One can maintain with confidence that some of the most constructive thinking on "America's greatest dilemma" is being generated and given a hearing in Black Studies programs.

Moreover, the overall quality of study is less frequently challenged, and the publications have become more impressive. One or two graduate programs in Black Studies now exist (New York University and Atlanta University), albeit with divergent philosophies. Strong programs in specialties such as African music attract good students, though most blacks who undertake graduate study continue to make their first commitments to a conventional discipline with Black Studies as an insurance policy on the side. Black Studies, like American Studies before it, is making relatively slow progress at the graduate level.

Finally, it is essential to look at Black Studies in the larger context of a sub-group culture. Thus, the ebb and flow of interest in Black Studies in the past three years have been closely related to the drives for black radio and TV, for black theatre, for black books and periodicals of all sorts. As these drives have met with a measure of success, the demand that Black Studies programs provide leadership for the black community has cooled. Related, too, is the unsettled issue of the place of Black Studies in elementary and high school curricula. The nature of the college program in Black Studies will ultimately in large part be defined by the student's--black or white--pre-college exposure, and at present this is at least as unstable as Black Studies for the college student.

The unresolved issues of Black Studies are many and complex, and the future is uncertain.[7] Ironically enough, the shortage of good faculty which concerned the Danforth Foundation in 1969 continues into 1972-73.[8] It is obscured by the fact that institutions in 1972 can afford to postpone development of a program if they can't find Mr. and Ms. Right. Since finding Mr. and Ms. Right is complicated by the idiosyncratic nature of the programs, institution by institution, and by the fact that many young black scholars have avoided the field, there is a chicken-and-egg problem for future staffing.

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[7]A member of Congress is dangling before his colleagues and the public the prospect of a series of ethnic centers in university settings, all to be generously supported by Federal funds. A means of making Black Studies palatable to white Congressmen? Perhaps.

[8]"One problem troubling all black studies programs is the shortage of blacks." John Blassingame, Change (Winter, 1971-72), p. 16.

But there is in 1972 faint but increasing support for a pair of related concepts--first, that both blacks and whites have roles to play as teachers/researchers/students in Black Studies; and second, that in the long run black institutions of higher learning will serve as the most active centers for research. This observer, for one, would estimate that the low point in Black Studies was reached some time back and that a slow but steady growth--however different in different kinds of institutions--may be ahead. Gresham's Law has not operated, at least on a national level. There will never be uniformity, and "growth" in some institutions may take the form of expansion in the context of other programs. But the physical distinctiveness of blacks, the fact that their proportion in the total population makes them the most significant minority, the fact that they have made a central as well as peculiar contribution to American life, all these factors mean that the rationale for Black Studies remains independent of the rationale for other ethnic studies. It is virtually certain that some form of Black Studies will be a permanent addition to the school and to the secondary curriculum.

Most important of all, a notable watershed has been crossed: not only is it accepted and respectable to do research on blacks, but it is clear that no important social questions can be explored without consideration of their ethnic implications. As Harold Cruse, director of the Center for Afro-American Studies at the University of Michigan and author of The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual, recently remarked: "For a long time black studies is going to be a separate discipline . . . . But it will, eventually, be integrated and we will develop the new scholar--black and white--to rewrite the American experience."

III

SOME EARLY EVALUATIONS

Was the Danforth Foundation's investment in Black Studies timely or premature? Did the experience of election to the Black Studies Fellowship change individual faculty members and, through them, their institutions? Has the existence of the program had an impact on the development of Black Studies as a field of study? Did the Foundation achieve its objective in establishing Postgraduate Fellowships in Black Studies? What implications, if any, are there for future programs/grants by the Foundation?

Question 1: Did the Fellowship year have an impact on the Fellows?

It goes without saying that upon return to their colleges and universities, DF Black Studies Fellows developed a wide variety of new courses as a result of their year of study. Some choose traditional themes; others are original. Some courses have proved so popular they must be given in sections (Southern Oregon College), and in at least one institution, the fire marshall has stepped in to insist that excess students must be kept out (Eastern Washington State College).

Some Fellows report that they receive so many requests to bring Black Studies into their communities that they cannot respond to them all. They have made appearances before elementary and high school audiences; they have given

seminars to Urban League and to church groups. One has worked with high school faculty to convince them of the value of teaching black literature or black history, whether their students are white or black. Two or three ex-Fellows describe themselves as "missionaries" in their eagerness to "teach the teachers" the significance of Black Studies; they are inspired, among other things, by the conviction that the field will come into its own at the college and graduate school level only after it has been fully incorporated into the pre-collegiate curriculum. (They also work with high school students, making them conscious of ways to test their textbooks for racism.) One alumnus-Fellow (white) agreed to offer a seminar on racism for the local police force. Finally, two ex-Fellows have received Federal grants to organize summer institutes to bring pre-collegiate teachers into the field of Black Studies (Luther College and Sangamon State University).

Many of the ex-Fellows report having written papers for guild meetings such as the African Studies Association and the National Council of Teachers of English, and review articles for professional journals. Several books (including a text on African politics) are underway. One Fellow (McClean, William Paterson College of New Jersey, 1971-72) reports that his institution has promoted him, named a scholarship for him, and given him a second year of leave to complete his research!

An important by-product of the year for many Fellows was that in joining a group of mature scholars trained in different disciplines, they found it possible to explore another discipline. Several Fellows commented on the long range significance in their growth as scholar-teachers which this opportunity represented. One team--an historian and an anthropologist--gave themselves a seminar on W.E.B. Dubois, exchanging disciplinary insights so profitably that they plan to produce a book from it.

One Fellow wrote that: "This has been a year of reading, discussion, writing, and for me introspection and human growth." He added that "Probably the only limitation of the year was time." Not all the Fellows had his kind of compulsive thoroughness, independence, and ambition, and a few expressed the regret that there was not more structure in their lives, suggesting they really wanted the security of graduate rather than post-graduate status.

No group of Danforth Fellows ever reflected wider range in background, training, ability, and probably no Danforth Fellowship ever assured the holder as much in the way of experiential learning. For the understanding of blackness came not only through books and vicarious experience: it was direct and personal and immediate and relentlessly daily. As one (white) Fellow wrote: "One immediate result is that I no longer believe in integration, if integration means assimilation, as I fear it does." Some of the most thoughtful teacher-scholars the Foundation has ever supported were in the program; so were a few wheeler-dealer, non-scholarly opportunists. The field attracts both extremes; so did we. It was the height of irony that one alumna of the program--a black woman with an M.A.--was snatched up by N.Y.U.'s Afro-American Studies department. She put all of her experience and thinking as a Fellow into the creation of their graduate program only to find herself excluded from it because she didn't herself have a Ph.D!

Question 2: Did the Foundation achieve its objective of offering support to an institution by awarding a Fellowship to a faculty member whom it nominated?

Staff is in the process of circularizing the Academic Deans of institutions where this question is an appropriate one to raise. Here it should be noted that of the 33 Fellows in the first two groups, not all returned to their home base. In three cases, the institution reneged on its promise to retain the faculty member;[9] in four cases, the Fellows chose not to return.[10] In one case,[11] a Fellow was discovered to have accepted the DF stipend plus a matching grant from his institution at the same time that he held a full-time appointment to teach Black Studies. He has disappeared off the face of the earth.

For additional comments of Fellows, see Appendix A.

Question 3: Postgraduate fellowships in the social sciences and humanities are relatively rare.[12] The Danforth project was peculiarly related to the subject matter focus and produced significant experimental learning for both black and white participants. Was this emphasis so special as to limit the significance of the program or are there findings of importance for the future work of the Foundation?

The academic community doesn't have many models for postgraduate work in the social sciences and humanities. Study of DF Fellows' evaluations makes it clear that the opportunity to audit courses in such prestigious universities as Yale, Stanford, and the University of Chicago was not the major benefit provided by the Fellowship. In fact, there are repeated references to the surprisingly poor quality of instruction which the Fellows found around them. As one Fellow admitted: "I have had to face the fact this year that a good course is hard to find! (and, alas, to teach!)" And not a few Fellows said they would return to their less prestigious institutions with a sense of renewed hope!

Despite their deprecating response to courses, however, the Fellows found that the overall experience (free time, excellent library, etc.) provided a new and remarkable perspective as a result of being out of natural habitat and out of the normal role as teacher. (For some, this was initially a traumatic experience: to be neither faculty nor student, neither of a department nor out of

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[9]Rollins College, Fla. (Anthony Layng); Southern Illinois University, Experiment in Higher Education (Carolyn Dorsey); Reed College (Dennis Bonner).

[10]Christopher Breiseth (Williams College); Cleveland Williams (St. Michael's College (Vermont); Joseph Logsdon (Lehigh University); Alvy King (Texas Christian University). Two of these Fellows separated from their institution with mutual regret as a result of the fact that there were no tenure slots available; one had a serious misunderstanding over contract conditions and seized an opportunity to take a post elsewhere; the fourth wanted to move himself and his family from an all-white community (Vermont) back to a southern institution.

[11]Edward Scarborough (DePaul University).

[12]It is true, however, that the National Endowment for the Humanities, having broken the ice with its Black Studies Fellowships, is increasingly generous in offering grants for research projects in both humanities and social science. In addition to its Fellowships in Black Studies, NEH now offers American Indian and Chicano Studies.

it, was disorienting.) The "chance to see life from the other side of the desk," combined with powerful intellectual stimulation, new resources, and new surroundings led many of the Fellows to take a totally fresh look at the undergraduate experience of all students, their own included. Bothered by the apathy which they observed in classes taught by others, many Fellows organized informal seminar discussions among themselves on the need for re-thinking undergraduate curriculum, for experimentation, and for the release from the lecture/examination format. Since the Fellows represented a wide cross-section of institutions in terms of quality, size, and tradition, such informal seminars had a quality at once sturdy and rich. Not a few Fellows commented that for the first time they found themselves taking a professional interest in teaching, not just an intellectual pleasure in their disciplines. Many resolved to develop new teaching styles on their return.

The emphasis on spontaneous generation of good conversation among Fellows introduces the issue of whether it was useful/essential/unimportant to the work of the postgraduate Fellows for them to be clustered in a few institutions. With the exception of four Fellows, each of whom was alone in the institution which he chose for his work, all of the Danforth Fellows had the benefit of sharing their experiences with other Fellows. In several instances, in fact, the group of Danforth Fellows was enlarged by the addition of NEH Fellows.

The Fellows at one institution--the University of Chicago--were to a man convinced that much of the success of the year stemmed from their own interchange, stimulated and nourished by the contribution of the director of DF Fellows. Even though some of the Fellows rejected completely his philosophy of Black Studies, the Chicago director, John Hope Franklin, inspired admiration, gratitude, and loyalty of such an order that one finds it hard to believe the tributes were not written by awe-struck adolescents.

The experience of the Stanford and Atlanta groups placed the same emphasis on their group and director as sources of stimulation. Then what of the control group--the four Black Studies Fellows who worked alone? Each of them also regarded his experience as highly valuable. All four admitted that having colleagues might have made a richer year, but they wouldn't have been willing to sacrifice what they gained (in one case, access to a particular collection of source materials; in another, participation as a white student in a black theological seminary, etc.) for what-might-have-been.

The acute dissatisfaction of two successive groups at Yale, though it had several sources, suggests that an essential ingredient in the success of the cluster principle is the personal interest of a director who serves as the active liaison between the postgraduate Fellows and the rest of the university, including their related departments. In both 1969-70 and 1970-71, the Yale groups had indifferent leadership. (In fairness, one should point out that DF Fellows were the responsibility of a man new to the University who very properly identified the undergraduates as his first priority and tried to delegate responsibility for working with the Danforth Fellows to a second man, also new to the University). Yet when a third group chose Yale, in the face of clear warnings based on the experience of the two previous groups, they had an exciting and rewarding year, thanks to the direct and sustained interest of the acting director, John Blassingame.

To sum up, being one of a cluster of postgraduate Fellows did not guarantee a good experience within the group, neither did being a "loner" in an institution keep a Fellow from having a fruitful year even though deprived of stimulating colleagues. The shift of perspective which came with the transplantation of a mature observer to a new institution had a powerful influence on the professional development of many of the Fellows, regardless of their status in a group. And where groups clicked, the stimulation was yeasty, unlike anything the Fellows had known before; mature adults with the common interest of Black Studies brought to their formal and informal seminars their different disciplinary orientations and widely divergent individual experiences. Their teaching of one another was an intellectual/personal experience of the highest order.

Several of the outstanding Fellows, in expressing their regret at the termination of the Black Studies Fellowships, urged that the program be replaced with a program of teaching-sabbatical fellowships for younger faculty. They argue that a year's release from institutional demands and from pressure to do research--combined with the opportunity to work with first-rate scholars, use the resources of a great university, and take an outside-insider's view of a major university--all this is an invaluable experience. The novice teacher is not ready to profit from it; the "settled" teacher isn't likely to change his or her ways; but the teacher in between is malleable and ready for the experience.

They stipulate only two things: one, that the host university provide an interested, well-connected liaison person to counsel and help the Fellows, and, two, that each Fellow have a departmental connection, if only to the extent of an assignment to teach quiz sections.

Joseph Logsdon, one of the Fellows urging the continuation of the Black Studies Fellowship program under a broader mandate, offered the following appreciation of his year as the basis for advice to the Foundation:

> The overall character of this Black Studies Fellowship should not be overlooked; it surely has usefulness beyond the exploration and improvement of Black Studies. It may well be a striking innovation in higher education. The postdoctoral idea is relatively unexplored in the social sciences and humanities. And having it occur after considerable college teaching experience is even more unusual anywhere in higher education. The postdoctoral in science or the residency in medicine usually takes place immediately after doctoral study. . . .
>
> If universities could offer sabbaticals of this sort--perhaps on the basis of awards--it would probably have a major impact on improving the quality of teaching in American colleges and universities. Most leaves and grants are directed toward research alone. A fellowship like ours would serve a much broader purpose: renewing and refreshing the teachers, their teaching, and their research. No one has really managed to find a way to encourage growth on the part of a faculty after graduate school except by rewarding publication--with time and resources for more publication. I don't denigrate publishing. But I write this as a 'publishing scholar', who has often considered the process of rewards self-defeating if it had hopes of encouraging anything beyond growing specialization and publication. From my experiences this year as a Danforth Fellow in Black Studies, I would urge you to consider the program's applicability to even broader purposes in higher education.

I, for one, am certain that because of this year's experience, I shall return to teaching not only more knowledgeable in Black Studies and better prepared to offer advice, but also more inquiring in my research and more concerned and interested in my teaching. Perhaps I shall also try to institutionalize and expand my experience for others in this and other fields, for I am convinced that you have struck upon a brilliant innovation in higher education.

A last word on the first evaluation

Whether the Foundation made a wise move in 1969 only time will tell. Many persons would have used the Foundation's resources differently. But that we moved to meet a need which was acute is clear, and that we stood against reverse racism as well as against racism is also part of the record. Several Fellows call our attention to the fact that the Danforth Foundation's Fellowships, together with those of NEH which DF inspired, have provided a form of "legitimacy" for the field. This "legitimizing" has not resulted from or resulted in uniformity for the field, nor is such uniformity likely to come. Yet our basic objective was the modest one of buying time for people to think, and this we have done. We have supported Fellows representing a wide range of points of view and we have made it possible for serious exchanges to take place among them. Their work is not finished; through their work, our pebbles will go on making waves.

* * * * * *

The concluding section of this report provides a sampling of the reflections of the Fellows who have enjoyed DF's Postgraduate Black Studies Fellowships. They can and do speak for themselves.

Laura Bornholdt

Appendix A

Excerpts from Correspondence with Black Studies Fellows

Appreciations

". . . the year provided me with unprecedented refreshment and enrichment: leisure to read and think; new faces, friends, experiences, and scenery; the occasion for more writing than I have done in 8 years of teaching; and freedom from financial pressures. . . .

"The impact of my Danforth year upon the current one is evident in three places: at Drury College, in the community of Springfield, and in my own research and writing. . . ."

James T. Livingston (1970-71)
Drury College

"(I greatly appreciated) the 'experiential' impact of spending a year in close contact and discussion with black teachers and students of many persuasions. I think I now approach discussions with black students, and in black studies classes, with a new openness; a new sensitivity to the diversity of black views and attitudes; and the confidence, when it seems appropriate, to say things which seem to be true, even though I am aware that I risk being misunderstood as a racist."

William Becker (1970-71)
Bucknell University

"A POST-GRADUATE YEAR: WHAT IT HAS BEEN
(SPLENDOR: MIRABILE DICTU)

It has been a year of splendor:
to Strengthen my background in Black literature
to Publish my first article in a leading journal
to Learn from others, scholars and students alike
to Engage in serious research on Countee Cullen
to Negate in discussion absurd notions of the Black Man
to Dream of sunshine in February and end up in Jamaica
to Order and synthesize my reading into lectures
to Reap the benefits of a Danforth Fellow in Black Studies
. . .

It has indeed been a year of SPLENDOR, marvelous to relate."

Johnnie M. Sharpe (1971-72)
South Carolina State College

Appreciations (2)

"I still regard the year I spent at Yale as a high point in my professional career."

H. Larry Ingle (1969-70
University of Tennessee at
Chattanooga

"It has been the best sustained academic experience of my life. Sharply defined goals and accessible means have found a happy union. The approachability of top scholars, the availability of resources and the vitality of the student/scholars at the university have complimented the investment of self to produce an extremely worthwhile year. Accolades to the Foundation for making possible this 'right on' year. . . ."

Wilbur T. Washington (1971-72)
Central College (Iowa)

". . . I feel a very genuine gratitude for the wonderful opportunity that the Foundation provided for me. In a sense it was a breakthrough and a unique experience for me. The reason I say that is because I not only teach in a small college but have, with one exception, always attended and taught at small and non-prestigious colleges. The year that you provided for me at Yale was my chance to be exposed to the top rank of American higher education and I feel that I profited by it enormously. This is not to imply that everything was superb or even superior there but much was and as for that that was not--well, I learned quite a bit just by discovering a bit of mediocrity exists even in those hallowed precincts. The main thing is that we who teach at most of the colleges and universities of America tend to become isolated and inbred in our ideas and badly need the stimulation of being thrown into the exciting atmosphere of a great university."

Robert Lowe (1969-70)
Elmira College

". . . one of the most valuable and exciting years of my life. . . ."

". . . a year of renewal and revitalization. . . ."

Pearle M. Mankins (1971-72)
Virginia Union University

"On a more personal level (and to one who had known very few black people previously), perhaps my most meaningful--and enjoyable--experience has been the opportunity of living in the homes of two black families. There have been lonely times, of course, and I've missed the role of teacher more than I had expected, but generally speaking, I believe this semester has provided me with an invaluable experience."

Carolyn Huff (1971-72)
Lenoir Rhyne College

Appreciations (3)

"Thus the Foundation efforts in this new area were, I believe, well worth it. In the long run I have no idea what will happen (who does?) to Black Studies in this country. But a lot of people will have benefited from DF's efforts in any case, and I for one feel privileged to have been a part of an effort conceived for all the right reasons, . . .and to which the prestige of a great foundation has been committed."

Nicholas Canaday (1970-71)
Louisiana State University

"I have been both impressed and disappointed with Atlanta University. The library is a disaster area, largely due to administrative and staff incompetence. Something must be done in this area immediately. The quality of teaching is mixed. Of the many excellent teachers I have encountered, two stand uppermost in my mind: Richard Long, Director of the Center for African and African-American Studies, is one of the most intellectually stimulating persons I have ever encountered. His weekly seminar on Afro-American culture was most valuable. Mack Jones, chairman of the Political Science department, gave me new insights into the workings of politics and government, especially as it affected the black community."

George P. Antone (1971-72)
Appalachian State University

"If a Fellow cannot get what he wants at the University of Chicago I would be inclined to say that he does not know precisely what he wants or else he does not know how to go about getting it."

Sister Mary Mangan (1969-70)
Webster College

"The University of Chicago was an excellent choice. Although there is no specified Black Studies program or department here, the resources for study and instruction in the field are impressive. There may, moreover, be wisdom in their implicit decision to diffuse Black Studies within departments. Frequently that approach has been an evasion. At Chicago, however, it is a forthright, determined effort. There are many courses in various departments--well staffed with black and white faculty and firmly imbedded with the university. . . .The resulting variety of approaches, the sense of security, the absence of power struggles, the academic soundness, and the overall institutional stability are commendable strengths of Black Studies at Chicago. The latter feature is particularly noteworthy. There is no appearance of fragility or temporariness about Black Studies at Chicago. . . .

"The value of the University of Chicago extends well beyond its own resources. The immediate community of Hyde Park is a wonderful mixture of people. . . .

"As I review my report thus far, I find that it is almost gushing. I did not write it with that intention. I have written it to help you evaluate the program. My disappointments are few."

Joseph Logsdon (1970-71)
Louisiana State University

Appreciations (4)

"Moreover serious research into black history, literature, sociology, etc. is essential if the integrative perspective is to be achieved with sophistication. The Black Studies phenomenon did much to highlight the need for this process and Danforth I think will be remembered for making a tangible contribution to this essential movement."

Christopher Breiseth (1970-71)
Sangamon State University

"Yale's Afro-American Studies Program under John Blassingame, Acting Director, has been very generous and helpful to the Danforth Fellows. John provided us with offices, strong encouragement and counsel, he has also helped us to receive grants from the Graduate School for our own research. I received one for the trips to see plays and have interviews in my study of the black aesthetic. Under his direction there has also been an excellent series of speakers and films for the Afro-American Studies Program. I can't praise him enough for his assistance and for his direction, even though temporary, of the program. . . ."

Samuel H. McMillan (1971-72)
University of Tennessee

Brickbats

"The only somewhat negative statement that I have to make is that the prestige of Danforth has led some few students to say that a Fellow of that Foundation is suspect because he by reason of his fellowship belongs to what they call 'The Establishment.' I only have to show them my overdue bills to silence that accusation."

Bertram Lewis (1970-71)
Eastern Washington State College

"Also, it seems that underlying the selection process of the Foundation is not too much confidence and faith in what is going on in Black Studies (and this is certainly understandable in light of events) and the Foundation has sought to give it validity and stature by selecting persons with high credentials, Ph.D.'s in most cases. This has led to, given the nature of what opportunity has been for blacks previously, a paucity of blacks in the program. This has been a mistake admitted even by the concerned whites in the program.

"Blacks would be qualified in large numbers if the Foundation would look at those still on the road to the Ph.D. and those not yet teaching on the college campuses. I am suggesting those who might still be studying--graduate and postgraduate--those who are interested in research and writing rather than teaching and those with a master's degree who have years of experience teaching in the secondary schools, who with a year of study the Danforth fellowship would provide, could move into the junior colleges.

Brickbats (2)

"This tendency toward sponsoring those who have already achieved gives a very conservative character to the program. Conservatism and Black Studies are strange bed fellows!"

Carolyn Dorsey (1969-70)
New York University

"It is perhaps true to say that I did not expect, nor was I prepared for, the the personal and racial animosity leveled against the white fellows, but neither was I prepared for the deplorable academic quality of the Yale program. The term 'deplorable' may be too strong, but I have been educated in more traditional academic programs and I must use that experience on a comparative basis.

". . . the Yale Black Studies Program, and probably nearly every other such program established in recent years, was initiated in an atmosphere of highly charged emotional and racial tension. Many programs were rushed into existence without adequate planning or adequate inquiry into what purpose such programs should attempt to accomplish. Faculties have been make-shift and even at times blatantly incompetent. Really competent scholars have often been by-passed because of racial bias or have refrained from offering constructive criticism of Black Studies programs due to the highly emotional atmosphere. Where Black Studies Departments have been created, they have generally been treated as unwanted and ill-conceived stepchildren of the traditional departments. All of my academic experiences and instincts indicate to me that such programs will die off of their own accord as soon as the emotional tensions which created them have lessened."

Robert Gaines (1969-70)
Tusculum College

"Another, more serious problem that we encountered at Atlanta University was the uncertainty of course offerings. Some courses in Afro-American Studies listed in the schedule for this semester were cancelled at the last minute, others substituted without giving the teachers much warning, and still others offered but unlisted. One of the reasons for this, I believe, is the general lack of coordination among the various schools in the Atlanta University Center. Each school seems to be a separate entity, with its own bureaucracy, programs, and goals. There is really very little sense of an integrated 'center,' and I'm already convinced that this severely undermines the potential of this kind of consortium."

Anonymous

". . . The Afro-American Studies Program at Yale is not very good. . . . At the same time, it is clear that one can learn a great deal about problems in black studies by observing what is going on here."

Nicholas Canaday (1970-71)
Louisiana State University

A New Fellowship Program?

Postgraduate study

". . . such a year, coming four to ten years after one has finished the Ph.D. and been immersed in teaching, is of tremendous benefit to the individual and the institutions he will inhabit. Too few of us in the humanities and social sciences have the opportunity to take on a set of problems to which we have been led by our teaching and really pursue the problems as scholars. Typically in the first years of teaching we are struggling with a variety of courses, some of which we have had no formal preparation in, and with our Ph.D. dissertation which we are preparing for publication (old material being worked over). The demands of our teaching life get us on a treadmill which it is easier to stay on than jump off, a fact that is made more certain by the characteristic expansion in our family responsibilities and concommitant need not to be too adventurous. What has been so helpful about this year for me is to come back as a student (with a teacher's backbone propping me up in my own eyes) after seven years of teaching to work with others sharing my types of experience, but as important, to work with a first rate scholar like Franklin who is in a position to give shape and direction to my study of these new interests. I rather detested my graduate work--it was so joyless and soulless. The attitude I have towards the present experience could not be more different. I am both the student and the experienced teacher. This makes me unusually receptive to intelligent guidance from someone like Franklin, if also smug and critical about the shortcomings of my 'teaching colleagues' whose courses I visit. The result is attention paid to the art of teaching as well as to scholarship. The readiness to write papers for seminars betokens the willingness to be fully engaged as student and scholar. My advice to those facing the opportunity of such a year (and I think programs like this should be expanded, centered around top scholars who are ready to take some teaching veterans in tow--which has its own kind of peril and stimulation for such scholars) is to fix on a research problem related to course work and write some papers which will be criticized by others. . . .

"It's a kind of second stage of graduate work--which is not the way to advertise such post-doctoral work. But it has the twin aspects of professional guidance and peer group collaboration which can be very encouraging to the experienced college teacher who has developed a style of unflappable competence in the eyes of students (and hopefully faculty colleagues), but who is really unready to do any serious intellectual collaboration in public with his fellow professionals, preferring instead the safety of scholarly isolation. One of our problems, which the students sense, is the lack of intellectual community among the faculty of our colleges and universities. This issue is far-ranging and I won't go into it further except to say that I see in the experience I am now enjoying a revitalization of individuals working separately and together that has the quality of something we are lacking at Williams, which I sense is missing in most of our colleges."

Christopher Breiseth (1970-71)
Sangamon State University
(originally Williams College)

On the Future of Black Studies

"I sense that universities and the society at large are less and less concerned with black studies. In such a period of reaction, the calm, tough-minded approach of John Hope Franklin helps to bolster my own commitment to the field. Black studies within this society will be advanced by rigorous research and dedicated teaching."

Joseph Logsdon (1970-71)
Louisiana State University

"I am less sure now of how I would go about implementing a black studies program than I was a year ago. I have heard and read some persuasive arguments for and against separate black studies programs and departments. The more advanced black thinkers and writers (more extreme, more radical?) maintain that on the black campus a black studies program is inappropriate since the institution as a whole ought to be totally committed to the subject in all its ramifications. On the white, or almost totally white, campus, a black studies program is merely establishment tokenism at best. At this point my thinking is that on the survey course level, in all disciplines, a fully integrated program is the only feasible approach. The black American has been and will continue to be, such an integral part of the collectivity of America that to draw off this component into a separate discipline will create an intolerable gap. That is, in my thinking, we do not have an option. To study American politics, history, literature, etc. one must perforce study 'Black Studies.' An advanced, specialized discipline, on the other hand, is a legitimate intellectual pursuit."

George P. Antone (1971-72)
Appalachian State University

"Although there is always the risk of projecting one's own institutional experience as a paradigm of the world, I must confess to a qualified pessimism about the future of Black Studies programs, particularly in predominantly white private universities. At best it would seem that Black Studies is still thought to be something which should take place within the traditional disciplines and departments; at worst, it is seen as redundant and even a threat to intellectual standards. Both points of view lead me to conclude that they are the result of one of two conditions: either, the intellectual rationales for Black Studies have been unread or undigested OR the forces at work on the decision-makers in university administrations (e.g., trustee and alumni attitudes) see Black Studies as a manifestation of the separatist thrust they perceive to be an aspect of the broader black revolt in America. I would submit that those faculty people who see Black Studies as a threat to academic excellence have a forest/trees problem and have seen only the campus unrest pursuant to Black Studies among many other things. Also not to be discounted are faculty attitudes which eschew Black Studies as an unwelcome additional claimant to an already overburdened budget. Students remain fickle as well, but new courses have to be made available long enough to allow them to catch on if they are going to.

On the Future of Black Studies (2)

"Black Studies will continue to require legitimizing devices if it is ever to become an integral part of the academic community. Among these are dual appointments, highly productive staff, excellence and imagination in teaching, people willing to fight bureaucratic battles, etc. The Danforth Fellowships have been an excellent legitimizing effort on behalf of Black Studies. In this context it is particularly unfortunate that they will not be continued."

E. Philip Morgan (1971-72)
Emory University

"Now that the great noises surrounding the issue of Black Studies have subsided considerably, that there is general recognition that Black Studies is here to stay and that we who are serious about establishing this discipline are quietly and busily at work, I hope sincerely the faith that the Foundation invested in the program has been rewarded."

Carolyn A. Dorsey (1969-70)
New York University

"One wonders if Stanford University has any real commitment in this area since the Afro-American program at Stanford is under-staffed and very peripheral to the general academic concern of the University."

Adebisi Otudeko (1971-72)
Franklin and Marshall College

". . . I don't believe black studies will disappear--in part for the reason you suggested, i.e. that white institutions recruiting black students will maintain black studies as part of that effort. I do expect that black studies programs will remain in weak financial and political positions and as a result will become 'normalized' in such a way that any 'radical' impulses will begin to disappear.

"Black studies began as a radical movement. It began with demands for new subject matter, new approaches, new relations among faculty, students, and administrators, new relations with local communities; it began furthermore with an unusual power base--a base in the student body rather than a department or committee structure. . . Now that money is very tight, I fear that black studies, which apparently has not had time to build a power base in many institutions (and which at least at Stanford may not be able to depend on its student base) will be under pressure to withdraw and to conform."

Lawrence Flood
Mount Holyoke College

"For most educational institutions I think a separate Black Studies Department is a mistake because it is likely to play on the margins of mainline activity (political, budgetary, intellectual) of the institution,

to be lopped off without much pain to the majority of faculty and students under the guise of one expedient or another. On the other hand, I think it is intellectually imperative that courses and programs be organized to focus on the experience of groups, both separately and together. . . .

"One of the reasons I strongly advocate conscious moves toward the integrative perspective is that I have discovered here in middle America a deep need among whites to understand our racial/ethnic experience as a nation. This is not going to be accomplished for the majority of students if the content of the minorities' experiences is in separate ethnic programs exclusively. The objective is for intellectual subversion of the major programs and disciplines. Much of this effort must be carried on by whites if other whites are to be reached. On the other hand, the substitute for Black Studies programs as separable entities is the presence of substantially increased numbers of black faculty members both to promote implicitly and explicitly our search to grasp America's pluralism and to meet the personal as well as intellectual needs of black students. Thus I would emphasize the need for some conscious working of whites with whites and of blacks with blacks at the same time that both groups (students and faculty) are being drawn together intellectually and personally in programs and courses focusing on the interaction of our group experiences.

". . . Each institution has its own needs and appropriate structures, with particular constituencies to service. We should not be averse to this. But we must also assert with firmness and confidence the need to grasp our interdependence as a group of people forming a nation in a pluralistic world."

Christopher Breiseth (1970-71)
Sangamon State University

"Black studies, which is by definition interdisciplinary should have as a main objective, the improvement of the lives of black people through the application of techniques and methods of the traditional disciplines. Black studies therefore, cannot be removed from the political, psychological, social and economic reality of black survival in a white controlled world. It should be devoted to the education of a generation of scholars committed to eradicating racism and oppression from the American and world societies."

Joseph T. Darden (1971-72)
California State College
(Pennsylvania)

"I must confess to a qualified pessimism about the future of Black Studies programs. . . . (They) will continue to require legitimizing."

Sister Mary Mangan (1969-70)
Webster College

On the Implications of Black Studies for WASPs.

"The difficulties are manifold because of a particular and unbelievable naivete and ignorance of the students to cultural differences and in regards to race. The students look at Detroit or Harlem or Watts and fail to see Cheyenne River, Lower Brule, Crow Creek, Pine Ridge, and Rosebud Indian Reservations. They see busing problems in Florida, California, Alabama, and Wisconsin, but refuse to see or have no idea that Indian kids are transported and boarded out to Mission/Reservation schools in Pierre, Mission, etc. right here in South Dakota, and that the kids come from Washington, Arizona, Oklahoma, and Minnesota.

"Part of what I have been trying to do is awaken the consciousness of some people in Jacksonmiss, South Dakota."

Gervase Hittle (1970-71)
University of South Dakota

On Whites and Blacks in Black Studies

"The 'nothing gets done when whites are in class' attitude holds true for courses with visceral content, but for those giving general over-views or surveys only the instructor can annul this attitude. There is no magic formula."

Dennis Bonner (1970-71)
Stanford University

"To this point I have had no particular problem as a white teacher teaching black literature to black students, mainly, I think, because I know things about the material that they don't and they appreciate that. One black student put it to me this way: 'Sure, we were checking you out for the first week or two, but after about the second class, I came out and I said to myself, "Jones knows what he's talking about." And that's what I'm in the class for--I want information.' Frankly, I think we can easily do black students injustice by assuming that they will make unfair judgments and reject white teachers just because they are white. That may not necessarily happen if

(1) there are enough black teachers at a school to remove the problem of role model and
(2) the white teacher has done his homework--that is, has studied black culture enough to be sensitive to differences in perspective and has studied a particular subject enough to be able to provide information and insights to his students."

Dennis Jones (1969-70)
Luther College

On Whites and Blacks in Black Studies (2)

"For Florence State, a course in Black History was unique. Some white students arrived on campus with specific instructions from parents to avoid the course. Other white students were much interested in the subject matter but were fearful that some mysterious dangerour doctrine was to be given them without their being aware of it. A few black students were doubtful that any white person was competent to deal with the subject. While all had some kind of opinion about every aspect of Black history, most were willing to 'watch and wait.' A few students voiced the opinion after a few days that they should leave the course and a few others were told that they should leave if they could not listen to and evaluate differing views. But matters smoothed out. No one dropped but few if any of the extremists are happy. But that is good. I am in a position here in the South where I can easily join the Negro community or easily remain a member of the white community. But this does not solve any problems. As I see it, progress in my section of the country involves bringing the members of the two races together, stimulating intercourse between them, and developing some real appreciation for and willingness to work with each other. I have therefore, tried to get one foot in each camp and am to some extent trusted by neither. But small bits of progress have been made--so small that they would seem insignificant for any one other that myself."

Kenneth R. Johnson (1970-71)
Florence State University

"Black Studies is immediately noticed with varying attitudes about why one would engage in it. If a Black middle-class individual ask why you are interested in Black Studies, no matter what you tell him, his mind writes you off as a militant even though you do not wear an Afro nor participate in civil rights demonstrations. If a lower-class Black ask, his mind registers immediately that you are either a trouble-maker or insane: a trouble-maker because you must be interested in his carefully guarded secrets of survival or want to use him as an informant; insane because if you have made it in the white man's world, why would you want to return to his (The Black Man's World) even for reminders, for here is a world he wishes desperately to escape. If a white man ask, his mind instantly depicts you as a radical wasting your time when you could be doing something more useful."

Johnnie M. Sharpe (1971-72)
South Carolina State College

APPENDIX B

POSTGRADUATE FELLOWSHIPS IN BLACK STUDIES

Year	*Invitations Sent*	*Replies Received*	*Nominations Received*	*Awards Made*	*Awards Accepted*	*Blacks Appointed*	*Women Appointed*
1969-70	250	91	19	10	10	1	2
1970-71	775	130	85	25	23	7	4
1971-72	775	112	92	22	20	11	8
Total					53	19	

Location of Fellows

4	Atlanta University
13	University of Chicago
5	Howard University
1	Interdenominational Theological Center (Atlanta)
1	Morgan State College
10	Stanford University
19	Yale University
53	